HICKFORD'S OBSERVATIONS
ON
ROWLEY'S POEMS

1782

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

POEMS attributed to ROWLEY,

TENDING TO PROVE

That they were really written by HIM

And other ancient AUTHORS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

REMARKS

ON THE

APPENDIX of the EDITOR

OF

ROWLEY'S POEMS.

Followed by other pamphlets.

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magiſtri. HOR.

Nitor in adverſum —— OVID.

LONDON:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IF the following Obſervations, which came into the hands of the Editor upon the death of the Writer of them, ſhould prove of any weight to thoſe who contend that Chatterton was the Author of the Poems attributed to Rowley; or if they ſhould be thought worthy the attention of thoſe who take the ſame ſide of the queſtion with the Writer; or if, in the laſt place, they ſhould in ſome degree tend towards deciding this controverted point, it will be a ſufficient juſtification for offering them to the Publick.

As the Editor preſumes not to appear in any other character, than of a faithful Tranſcriber, and of one who wiſhes to avoid the fault, with which the Writer towards the cloſe of the following piece charges Chatterton, "of "miſtaking the buſineſs of an Editor, and of making al- "terations for no other reaſon than his thinking them "improvements;" it is hoped the candid Reader will favourably overlook any little inaccuracies which he may meet with, and which the Writer, had he lived, would probably have corrected.

A very learned and ingenious friend of the deceaſed Writer has favoured the Editor with the Remarks on the Appendix, &c. together with his permiſſion to annex them to the following pages.

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OBSERVATIONS, &c.

NOTWITHSTANDING the weighty objections, which the very worthy Gentleman, who has obliged the world with the Poems attributed to Rowley, has made, in his Appendix, to the Language and Grammar of many places in theſe Poems; notwithſtanding I am not without ſuſpicion of the genuineneſs even of thoſe manuſcripts, which Chatterton produced as originals, a ſuſpicion which is likely to remain with me, 'til more has been ſaid to prove their authenticity, than has hitherto appeared; and in the laſt place, notwithſtanding that in one of the Poems two very material words are deſignedly and unjuſtifiably tranſpoſed, and that, with reſpect to the ſecond of the Coats of Arms engraved by Mr. Strutt, it is evident that the Coat itſelf or the title to it is falſe [a], I ſtill cannot help thinking that Chatterton

[a] Beſides the doubts which a Herald might raiſe againſt both the Coats of Arms, their authenticity is the more queſtionable, as Rowley, in his Letter to the dygne Maſtre Canynge, blames Tradeſmen and Toune folck for bearing Arms, which he would ſcarcely have done if Canynge had borne them. But if he did not, his Brother, called in Wright's liſt Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor of London in 1456, bore Ar. three Blackmoores heads S.

ſpoke the truth in what he conſtantly aſſerted touching the antiquity of the Poems. His bare word indeed is intitled to little regard, and can only find credit when it is ſupported by internal evidence, upon which, as the Editor of the Poems has very juſtly obſerved, the deciſion of the queſtion whether they are ancient or modern, whether they are to be conſidered as the compoſitions of Rowley and other ancient Authors, or the inventions of Chatterton, muſt finally depend. But the Poems, to my thinking, bear upon them ſuch marks of antiquity, more eſpecially of the age in which Rowley is ſaid to have lived, as incline me ſtrongly to the former of theſe opinions, whether upon ſufficient grounds or not is now going to be ſubmitted to the Reader.

ECLOGUE I.

SOMETHING might be ſaid here on the beginning this Collection of Poems with Eclogues, and more particularly with this firſt Eclogue, the hint for which is evidently taken from the firſt Eclogue in Virgil, and an inference might be drawn from it againſt Chatterton's having been the Author of the Eclogue from his unacquaintance with that Poet; but as it is poſſible that he might have ſeen the Eclogue in a Tranſlation, and if the Tranſlation had Notes, as Oglebye's has, might perhaps have learned from them the occaſion of the Poem, and thence have been prompted to write ſomething ſimilar to it: I have proceeded no further than barely to mention theſe circumſtances, and leave the Reader to draw concluſions from them, or not, as he pleaſes. But there is another thing relative

to

to this Poem, which muſt not be paſſed over; admitting it to have been written by Chatterton, it could be no more in Him than a jeu d'eſprit, an eſſay how he could acquit himſelf on a ſubject of the ſame kind with that of Virgil; whereas, if the Piece is attributed to Rowley, we give it to one who, beſides having that Poet for his example, had very ſtrong motives for exerciſing his poetical talents in the ſame way, the calamities deſcribed in Virgil's Eclogue bearing a near reſemblance to thoſe felt in his own time from the outrages occaſioned by the ſharp conteſt between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter.

ECLOGUE II.

THIS Poem is commemorative of two things; the expedition of Richard the Firſt to the Holy Land, and the filial piety of one Nygelle, whoſe father accompanied Richard in the expedition. The former of theſe ſubjects muſt have grown rather obſolete even in the time of Rowley [a], and the latter is of ſo private a nature, and ſo undiſtinguiſhed with any thing of Eclat to render it memorable, that it muſt, I ſhould think, have

[a] Henry IV. was the laſt of our Princes, who took the Croſs, and did it not 'til his laſt illneſs, when nothing could come of it. Henry V. ſpoke ſomething of his intentions to have done the like when his affairs in France ſhould have been ſettled, but it was in his laſt moments; between his death and the age of Rowley more than thirty years expired, a time, which, together with the incapacity of the Prince upon the Throne and the bad ſucceſs of affairs on the continent, proved ſufficient for curing the Nation of a Phrenzy, already in a great meaſure worn off.

 been

been out of ſeaſon to write upon it at any time but when the affair was recent, or at the lateſt before the deceaſe of Nygelle, in compliment to whom the Poem ſeems chiefly to have been undertaken. Theſe reaſons induce me to look upon this Eclogue as one of thoſe ancient Poems, of which Rowley ſpeaks in his Letter to Maſtre Canynge :

" Canynge and I from common courſe dyſſente,
" We ryde the ſtede, botte yev to hym the reene;
" Ne wylle between craſed molterynge [a] bookes be pente,
" Botte ſoare on hyghe, & yn the ſonne-bemes ſheene;
" And where wee kenn ſomme iſhad [b] floures beſprente [c],
" We take ytte, & from oulde rouſte [d] doe ytte clene."

EC-

[a] MOLTERYNGE, if it means any thing, ſignifies melting, a word in which ſenſe will not ſuit this place; this is therefore one of the many miſtakes in tranſcribing which Chatterton made. In the original it was doubtleſs written MOLDERYNGE, a derivative from the Anglo-Saxon Nolð, or Gothic Mnλð, and not as in Johnſon's Dictionary from the Sueditſh Moegel.

[b] ISHAD, this is another falſe tranſcript, it ſhould have been written YSHED, and comes from the Anglo-Saxon Lezcedan, to ſeparate, the prefix GE being as uſual in later Engliſh melted down into Y; in connexion with the word where it is uſed it ſignifies a flower ſeparated from its ſtalk; Chatterton explains it by the word BROKEN; he had been nearer the ſenſe if he had ſaid BROKEN OFF.

[c] BESPRENTE from the Anglo-Saxon Berpnenzan, to ſprinkle, to ſcatter.

[d] ROUSTE. Anglo-Saxon RUST.

It

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ECLOGUE III.

If Chatterton was the Author of this Collection of Poems, as the Editor of them ſeems to think, and Rowley, to whom he was pleaſed to attribute them, nothing more than the mere creature of his brain, it muſt be acknowledged that he has given this fictitious perſon a very conſiſtent character. He tells us, page 204, that he was a Yorkiſt, and accordingly it will be found in the courſe of theſe Obſervations, that one of his Poems is written to ſerve the intereſts of that Houſe; from Canynge's Feaſt we may gather that he was a chearful companion; the pleaſantry obſervable in ſeveral parts of this Collection of Poems tells us as much; and his character as a Clergyman muſt be concluded to be good from the intimacy which Chatterton gives him with Canynge, whoſe piety prompted him to build one of the moſt beautiful parochial Churches in

It were to be wiſhed that ſomebody, well qualified for the taſk, would attempt to reſtore the true readings, in the place of thoſe foiſted in by Chatterton. Much might doubtleſs be done in this way by ſuch a perſon conjecturally, notwithſtanding there are no Manuſcripts to guide him; for as Chatterton probably for the moſt part went in his Copies as near to the Originals as his imperfect knowledge of the hand would let him, where good old Engliſh words, nearly reſembling thoſe in Chatterton's copy, and ſuch withal as ſuit the ſeveral places are to be found, thoſe, it is very likely, are the ſame as ſtood in the original; at leaſt they will better preſerve the ſenſe of the Author, and be as a ſuccedaneum for the true reading, if that cannot be recovered, much preferable to thoſe unjuſtifiable ones ſubſtituted by Chatterton.

all the Weſt, and with Carpenter, Biſhop of Worceſter [a].

Accordingly we find in the works attributed to Him that He is often chearful, but ever decent; his mirth never betrays him into levities unworthy of his clerical character; the Poem now before us is a ſtriking inſtance of his knowing how to blend the Allegro and il Penſeroſo happily together, and to be inſtructive at the ſame time that he is entertaining. Rowley's character then, as has been ſaid, is conſiſtent; but where is it drawn? not in any one particular piece, where the Author might with more eaſe have been attentive enough to preſerve an uniformity, but by piece-meal, in detached and unconnected parts of his works; in ſome of which, amidſt ſuch variety, the Author muſt have been fortunate indeed never to deviate from himſelf. What ſhall we ſay then, that Chatterton has been thus fortunate, that notwithſtanding theſe impediments he has obſerved Horace's rule of ſibi conſtet as well as if he had read him? or ſhall we rather, finding ſuch a conſiſtency as ſcarcely any thing but truth will juſtify, derive this concluſion from it, that there really was ſuch a perſon as Rowley; that, in what Chatterton delivered of him, he ſpoke from authentic Documents, though we are ſtrangers to them; and that in conſequence he ſpeaks truth likewiſe where he tells us that Rowley was the Author of the

[a] John Carpenter was Biſhop of Worceſter from the Year 1454 to 1476, and a great Benefactor to the College of Weſtbury near Briſtol; of which College, William Canning, after having been thrice Mayor of Briſtol, in the latter part of his life became Dean.

Camden's Brit. p. 75, and Richardſon's Godwyn de Præſul. p. 467.

Poems. Indeed the internal Evidence deducible from the Poem before us tells us pretty plainly that it was not compoſed by Chatterton; in times like the preſent, if that young libertine had penned it, one ſhould rather expect from him ſome attempts to ſet the Country Parſon in a ridiculous light than ſo reſpectable a part as is aſſigned him in this Dialogue.

ELINOURE and JUGA.

IF circumſtances not diſſimilar to thoſe of his own time and country gave riſe to Rowley's firſt Eclogue, this Poem yielded ſtill ſtronger inducements for uſing his pen; for the ſubject of it is the ſecond Battle of St. Alban's, [b] which was to him truely Lamentabile Bellum, its termination having been unfavourable to the intereſts which he eſpouſed.

I may be too ſanguine, but can ſcarcely forbear thinking that it was compoſed on the loſſes which two young Ladies of the Weſt really ſuſtained by the deaths of their Lovers, who fell in this action.

VERSES to JOHNE LADGATE, with JOHNE LADGATE's Anſwer.

THESE Poems were printed from a Copy in Mr. Catcott's hand-writing, which agrees with one

[b] In the Church of St. Alban's Abbey was a chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert, which may account well enough for the invocation of that Saint in this Poem.

of Chatterton's writing in calling the above-mentioned perſon Ladgate; but in a piece of vellum given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett as the original Manuſcript he is called Lydgate, which undoubtedly is the true name of the perſon here intended. John Lydgate, a celebrated Poet in the fifteenth century, received his name from the village in Suffolk which gave him birth. He was aged ſixty-ſix in the year 1446, at which time he was author of a Piece called Philomela; how long he lived afterwards does not appear; He was buried at St. Edmund's Bury in the Abbey there, of which He was a Monk, with this inſcription for his Epitaph:

Mortuus ſeclo, ſuperis ſuperſtes,
Hic jacet Lydgate tumulatus urna:
Cui fuit quondam celebris Britannæ
Fama poëſis.
Tanner's Biblioth. Brit. & Hib.

Theſe Lines with the reſt of this account of Lydgate from Tanner's Bibliotheca Brit. & Hib. are the rather inſerted as they are extremely good for the time in which they were written, which probably was not long after the Death of Lydgate; and beſides they will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the great improvement made in the Latin Poetry of this nation in a very early period after the firſt revival of learning among us, a point, of which the Reader will ſee in the courſe of theſe Obſervations, it is for my purpoſe to take notice.

From Chatterton's ignorance of Lydgate's true Name, and his calling him, in the title to his anſwer, a Prieſt in London, the young man ſeems to have

have known nothing about him, and would therefore ſcarcely have choſen ſuch an one as a correſpondent for Rowley, whoſe time of living is fixed from his acquaintance with Biſhop Carpenter and Canning. For what luck muſt he have been in to be right, who nominated a perſon at random for ſuch purpoſe, and yet had the good fortune to hit upon a real Poet who lived in the very ſame time with them? The verſes therefore to Lydgate, with the Song to Ælla ſent with them, and Lydgate's anſwer, muſt for this reaſon, if probabilities have weight with us, be looked upon as Rowley's.

The TOURNAMENT.

IN this Poem Rowley's view ſeems to have been to draw the Reader's attention to the noble Benefaction in which his friend Canynge was engaged, whom He indirectly compliments on his new Church, while he deſcribes the inferior Architecture of the old one. In the courſe of the Interlude there are two parts aſſigned to the Minſtrels, the firſt of which, being a Satire on the Conqueror, is on a ſubject, in his time grown ſo obſolete, that it ſeems very unlikely that Rowley ſhould have employed himſelf upon it further than to *clean it from it's ruſt*; for which reaſon I conſider it as another of thoſe ancient pieces of Poetry which he treated in that manner. But however this may have been, whether this Minſtrel's part was the compoſition of Rowley, or of a ſtill older period, it is ſufficient for me if it was not Chatterton's.

BRIS-

Bristowe Tragedie, or, the Dethe of Sir Charles Bawdin.

THE Editor of this Collection of Poems has in his introductory account favoured us with ſeveral particulars ſerving to illuſtrate this Ballad, and rendering it highly probable that the ſtory of it is founded on real fact. He tells us from Stowe's Continuator, that Edward the Fourth viſited Briſtol in his progreſs at the latter end of his firſt year, and, from a fragment publiſhed by Hearne, that Sir Baldwin Fulford ſuffered there for treaſon about that time; which he confirms by an extract from a parliamentary Roll of the eighth of Edward the Fourth, and ſhews further from writings belonging to the Church of St. Ewin's in that city, that it was expected that the King, when he came thither, would go to that Church, from which he thinks it likely that he ſaw the proceſſion of Sir Baldwin towards the place of execution. Chatterton might poſſibly have ſeen the continuation of Stowe; but it is very improbable that he ever looked into Hearne's fragment, and ſtill more ſo that he ſearched the Rolls of Parliament for the tranſaction relative to Sir Baldwin; and with regard to the evidence from the Church of St. Ewin, that in all likelihood Mr. Catcott firſt diſcovered on ſearching for it after Chatterton had given him a copy of the Ballad. How then could Chatterton, if he was the Author of the Poem, relate facts in it from evidence to which he never had acceſs? Or ſuppoſing, which indeed is not to be ſuppoſed, that he had arrived at the knowledge of

theſe facts by ſome other means, what reaſon could he have ſo many years after to conceal the true name of Sir Baldwin Fulford, and ſubſtitute that of Charles Baldwin in it's place? Many prudential reaſons might induce Rowley, ſuppoſing the Ballad written by him, to be wary and cautious on the ſubject, but for Chatterton ſurely it was perfectly unneceſſary. In regard to this piece therefore, if the Editor is not to be conſidered as coming over to my ſide of the queſtion, he has certainly furniſhed evidence againſt the concluſion advanced in his Appendix.

ÆLLA: A TRAGYCAL ENTERLUDE, or DISCOORSEYNGE TRAGEDIE.

HAD Chatterton been the Author of this Poem, it had been ſufficient for him to have entitled it A Tragedie; but, ſuppoſing Rowlie the Author, the caſe is very different; in his time tragedy, in the dramatic ſenſe of the word, was a new thing in England; the generality of his Readers would have underſtood no more by the word, than a melancholy event; or, like that in the laſt mentioned Poem, the relation of ſuch an one; it was neceſſary for him therefore, in giving his bill of fare, to explain more fully what his readers were to expect from him; which he did by ſtyling his piece "A Tragycal Enterlude, or "Diſcoorſeynge Tragedie," ſhewing by thoſe titles, that it was an Interlude by perſonal repreſentation: —The conſequence to be derived from this is obvious; I need not ſtay to draw it, but ſhall rather haſten to another obſervation on the title of this Piece, in which it is ſaid to have been "Plaiedd

" Before. —— The Duke of Norfolck, Johan " Howard." As the family of Mowbray became extinct, and that of Howard ſucceeded to the Dukedom of Norfolk in the time of Rowley, the curioſity of his Readers had been but imperfectly gratified, if Rowley had not added the ſurname of Howard, to ſhew that the new Duke was the perſon meant. This is a ſufficient reaſon for Rowley to have added the ſurname. If Chatterton was the Author of the Tragedy, for what reaſon he thought fit to add it, it is left for others to ſay.

Paſſing then from the title of this Tragedy, let us next take into conſideration ſome things obſervable in it; beginning with the Entroductionne, or Prologue, (for ſuch it is, though not called ſo) in which a word needs a different explanation from that which Chatterton has given it—

" Wee rowze hym uppe before the judgment daie,
" To ſaie what he, as *Clergyond*, can kenne;
" And howe hee ſojourned in the vale of men."

The word Clergyond is in Chatterton's Gloſſary rendered TAUGHT; but the full meaning of it is to be gathered from the vulgar notion, which obtained formerly, that Clergymen, by dint of their learning, were able to raiſe the ſpirits of deceaſed perſons, and oblige them by the force of charms and adjurations to make ſuch diſcoveries as were needed from them; in alluſion to which ſuppoſed power, joined to the circumſtance of the Author being a Clergyman, the word Clergyond is here uſed. Having mentioned one defect in Chatterton's Gloſſary, and another catching my eye in the next leaf to that we are upon, it will perhaps not be amiſs to beſtow likewiſe ſome little

of

of our notice there; it relates to the word PREVYD; the adjective PROUD has its origin in the Anglo-Saxon one ꝑꝛuꞇ; prevyd with the *t* ſoftened into *d*, and corrected in the orthography by changing the *v* conſonant into a vowel, is the very ſame word again, only written in the old Engliſh manner with more letters than are wanted, and divided into ſyllables for the ſake of the metre: now the epithet PREUYD (PREU-YD) was uſed here with peculiar propriety; for the Danes were eſteemed proud, which gave occaſion for the nickname beſtowed upon them, and upon ſuch as were like them on that account. In Chatterton's Gloſſary the word is rendered MIGHTY, a term of too much reſpect for the place where it occurs.——Chatterton might, and, it is to be feared, did introduce into his copies words, for which he had not ſufficient authority, and then endeavour to obtrude them on the Reader by fixing to them what meaning he thought fit; but, in other caſes, where the word was good and proper Engliſh, every miſinterpretation makes againſt his being the Author of the piece to which it was annexed; for no man can write ſenſe and uſe words of which he knows not the meaning.

There are four pieces aſſigned to the minſtrels in this Tragedy; the firſt of which, coming from the neighbourhood of Cuthbert's ſhrine, is probably of northern growth; but of this it behoves one to ſpeak cautiouſly; for though St. Cuthbert was more peculiarly reverenced in the County Palatine of Durham, which was the place of his burial; yet from the mention of him in Elinoure and Juga, and the known favour he was in as a Saint with the Great Alfred, there is room to doubt whether one or more ſhrines, if not churches, might

not likewiſe be erected to him ſomewhere in the weſt. Vide not. [b], page 11.

Another is ſaid to be written by Sir Thybbat Gorges, and might be communicated by him; but from the mention in it of Clowd-dell, that is, CLUYDALE, of which name Scotland and Wales have each of them a territory, is evidently the production of one of thoſe countries.

A third has no marks of the place whence it comes, but would do credit to any country; the ſubject, however, on which it is written, is of ſuch a nature as no one would have choſen who had thoughts of compoſing an Epithalamium, or any thing conſolatory for a young bride on the abſence of her huſband on the wedding-day.

Indeed, as none of theſe Pieces ſeem to have been written for the occaſions on which they are here uſed, if my gueſſes were of any weight, I ſhould conſider them as ſome of thoſe foundlings, of which Canning and Rowley undertook the care.——— There is ſomething ſo pleaſing in the melody of the verſe, ſo productive of terror in the accompaniments of the ſcene, ſo ſolemn in the invocation of the Machinery, and ſo affecting in the conſtancy, tenderneſs, and death of the young Maiden who is the ſpeaker in the third of theſe Pieces, that Rowley, I am perſwaded, was quite captivated with it, and, averſe on that account to it's ſuppreſſion, could not prevail on himſelf to ſubſtitute any thing of his own in it's room, notwithſtanding that in ſome reſpects, which probably had been obſerved to him by Sir Theobald Gorges, objections lay againſt it, as being too grave and melancholy for the place it fills.

Being deſirous that the pleaſure which the Reader receives from the peruſal of it may be ſincere and without

without alloy, I ſhall give part of the ſecond Stanza as it is printed, with a propoſal for ſome alterations which ſeem requiſite, and which I am ſatisfied the original Manuſcript, if producible, would juſtify:

" Blacke hys cryne as the wyntere nyghte,
" Whyte hys rode as the ſommer ſnowe,
" Rodde hys face as the mornynge lyghte,
" Cale he lyes ynne the grave belowe."

Theſe lines were, as I conceive, in the original as follows:

Blacke hys EYNE as wyntere nyghte,
Whyte hys TOTHE as ſomned ſnowe,
Rodde hys face as mornynge lyghte,
Cald he lyes ynne the grave belowe.

The article not being wanted in the three firſt lines, and the metre better without it, it is omitted; and for the latter reaſon, with the Reader's leave, I could wiſh to contract the fourth and fifth words of the laſt line into one by writing ỳ'th.

The Gloſſary annexed to the Poems does not ſpeak of CRYNE as uſed for HAIR, in any but this ſingle place, which renders it doubtful, without further authority, whether it is at all admiſſible; but EYNE is a word which occurs in them often.

RODE in the Anglo-Saxon is a ROOD or CRUCIFIX, which is not a meaning ſuitable to this place; RUDU in the ſame language is moſt commonly an adjective, and ſignifies RUDDY, in which ſenſe the word RODDE, or RUDD., as probably it ſhould be written, a derivative from it, is to be underſtood in the third of theſe lines; when uſed as a ſubſtantive it means COUNTENANCE, but never,

that I know of, COMPLEXION; but to ſpeak of the countenance in the ſecond line, and of the face in the third, as if they were diſtinct things, is preposterous; ſuch an abſurd tautology is avoided by reading as above; and the alteration is far from violent, if we ſuppoſe TOTHE to have been written in the Manuſcript after the Saxon abbreviated manner To$\eth$e, in which caſe the character uſed inſtead of *th* might eaſily be miſtaken by Chatterton for a *d*.

In regard to the word SOMMER placed next before SNOW in the printed copies, if by it is to be underſtood the ſeaſon, SUMMER, that, I believe, is invariably written both in the Anglo-Saxon and Engliſh with the fifth vowel in the firſt ſyllable, and not the fourth; which leads me to ſuſpect an error in the tranſcript; and this ſuſpicion is much heightened, when we conſider that ſummer is not the time when ſnow appears in the greateſt purity; it's brightneſs increaſes with the intenſeneſs of the froſt which uſually accompanies it; and it is proverbially whiteſt when driven. Such kind of ſnow I do imagine is intended here, and have ventured to call it in the above altered lines SOMNED, a word differing little in orthography from the SOMMER of the printed copies, and ſtill leſs if we ſuppoſe it written, as for the more eaſy pronunciation has been done in it's relative the adverb, SOMED TOGETHER; or, which is more likely to have been the caſe in the fifteenth century, when they were by no means ſparing in the number of letters which they crowded into a word, by the inſertion of a ſecond *m* inſtead of the *n*; SOMMED, SOMNOD, or SOMNED, is the participle paſſive of the Anglo-Saxon verb Somnian, *congregare*, *colligere*, to *gather*, or, as we may ſay here, to *drive it into an heap*.

CALD

CALD is a word ſtill well known in many parts amongſt us, but to expreſs COLD there is no ſuch word as CALE that I am aware of.

To return from this long digreſſion, if to point out paſſages in theſe Poems, which Chatterton did not underſtand, and of which conſequently he could not be the Author, can be conſidered as one.

The fourth Piece aſſigned to the Minſtrels is a Sonnet in two parts; the plan of which ſeems to have been, for the firſt Minſtrel to deſcribe the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year, and the ſecond in his reſponſes to give the marriage-ſtate preference in each of them; but Spring and Autumn are the only ſeaſons of which we have deſcriptions, and the only anſwer of the ſecond Minſtrel, wherein any one of the ſeaſons is mentioned, is that relating to Winter, which, for the want of a proper place for it's inſertion, is ſubjoined to Spring.——For theſe reaſons I look upon this Piece as imperfect; and as it is the only part of the Tragedy left unfiniſhed, when I conſider withal the fondneſs which Writers generally have for the children of their own brain, and how little pains would have been required to ſupply this defect, I am tempted to uſe Solomon's touchſtone on this occaſion, and to determine of Chatterton, that he was not the Parent or Author of the Tragedy, from the want of affection to it ſhewn by this omiſſion.

Near the beginning of this Tragedy is the following line:

"Notte, whanne the hallie Prieſte dyd make me
"Knyghte."

The Biſhops and Abbots did in former times confer knighthood, and there was a ſettled form by which they conſecrated the arms of the perſon on

on whom the ceremony was to be performed [a]; but it may I think be juſtly queſtioned whether Chatterton knew any thing of this. Lower down, when Birtha is diſſwading Ælla from marching againſt the Danes, ſhe uſes this argument,

" Thou nedeſt notte goe, untyll thou haſte command
" Under the ſygnette of oure Lorde the Kynge."

Putting Ælla's honour out of the queſtion, this argument I conceive to be a very ſtrong one; for it will, I am ſatisfied, be found on enquiry, that what the young Lady alledges was fact; a Vaſſal holding of the King was not, in the feudal times, under any legal obligation to take arms, 'til the King ſignified his pleaſure to him by a letter under his ſignet; of this however I have no poſitive proof; but very ſtrong reaſons induce me to think the caſe was ſo. But if it was ſo, where, it may be aſked, did Chatterton pick up this piece of knowledge?—Chatterton, an unexperienced youth, who perhaps never heard of the Signet or Signet-office in his life; or at the moſt knew no more of either than what is to be learnt from Chamberlayn's Preſent State, or the Red Book; neither of which ſpeak a word of the uſes to which the ſignet is to be affixed? Of this point therefore, if not of that reſpecting Knighthood, I cannot but conſider him as having been ignorant.

[a] Selden's Eadmer, p. 68. and his notes upon him, p. 207.

GODDWYN;

GODDWYN; a TRAGEDY.

WHETHER it was that the Author, having explained the nature of dramatic tragedy once, thought a repetition needleſs; or that, in the interval between the times when Ælla was firſt exhibited and this piece written, others had followed him in the ſame track, by which the public had become in ſome degree familiarized to performances of this kind; or whatever elſe gave occaſion for it, this Piece is intitled ſimply a Tragedy; and a further advance made, by calling the lines prefixt to it no longer an Introduction, but a Prologue.

This is the Piece hinted at early in theſe Obſervations, as having for its Author ſome partizan of the Houſe of York, which indeed it tells us plainly enough itſelf; for, under the characters of Goddwynn and his ſon Harolde, it is eaſy to ſee, that thoſe of Richard, Duke of York and his ſon Edward are alluded to; and the reſemblance between the ſuper-hallie Seynt, King Edwarde, and Henry the Sixth is ſo ſtriking, that no-body can miſs of it. The Reader will be pleaſed to attend to the following lines of Goddwyn:

" Upponne the trone I ſette thee, helde thie crowne;
" Botte oh! twere hommage nowe to pyghte thee downe.
" Thou arte all Preeſte, and notheynge of the Kynge."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

" Know, ytte beſeis thee notte a maſſe to ſynge;
" Servynge thie leegefolcke, thou arte ſervynge Godde."

And

And again when Goddwyn aſks his ſon,

" Whatte wouldeſt thou wythe the Kynge?"

Harold's anſwer will inform us to what end this Tragedy was written:

" Take offe hys crowne;
" The ruler of ſomme mynſter hym ordeyne;
" Sette uppe ſom dygner than I han pyghte downe,
" And peace in Englonde ſhulde be brayd agayne."

This Piece ſeems to have been written towards the latter end of the reign of Henry the Sixth, after the Duke of York had openly laid claim to the crown.

Englyſh Metamorphosis.

HERE again a doubt ariſes (like that mentioned in the beginning of theſe Obſervations) whether Chatterton's learning was ſufficient for his reading The Metamorphoſis in the original; but, fearing to tire the Reader more with a ſubject, of which he is perhaps already weary, I ſhall forbear to dwell upon it, and only take notice that, if Chatterton had written this Piece, he would ſcarcely have founded it on the now long exploded ſtory of King Brutus.

The Storie of William Canynge.

THE tranſaction alluded to, in the laſt Stanza of this Piece, gives ſuch an air of authenticity to the whole, as perſuades us ſtrongly of its being genuine.

The

The Balade of Charitie, and the Battle of Haſtings No. 1. and No. 2. are the only Pieces of any length, which are left here unconſidered; but, as nothing in them leads to the times when they were written, I have paſſed them over unnoticed; and haſten now to the picture of Edward the Fourth's reign, which may be drawn, chiefly from the ſmaller Pieces in this Collection.

Edward himſelf is repreſented as not over merciful; but with more feelings than his Brother Richard, Duke of Glouceſter. Edward, after ſwearing in the morning by St. Marie, and all the Saints, that Sir Charles Baldwin ſhould die that day, on going afterwards to ſee the proceſſion to his execution, a ſtep unworthy of a King, has this dialogue with his brother Richard:

'Kynge Edwarde's ſoule ruſh'd to hys face,
'Hee turn'd hys hedde awaie,
'And to hys broder Glouceſter
'Hee thus dydd ſpeke and ſaie:

"To hym that ſoe-much-dreaded dethe
"Ne ghaſtilie terrors brynge,
"Beholde the manne! hee ſpake the truthe,
"Hee's greater thanne a Kynge!"

"Soe lett hym die!" Duke Richard ſayde;
"And maye echone oure foes
"Bende downe theyre neckes to bloudie axe,
"And feede the carryon crowes."

I need not ſay how maſterly, ſo far as it goes, this drawing is, and in how true a light theſe two Princes are here ſet, at a time when both of them were very young.

Learning was then beginning to revive among us: Edward the Fourth is ſaid to have ſent ſeveral

young Gentlemen over into Italy for improvement in their ſtudies; one, whom I take to have been of this number, is ſtyled by Leland, himſelf a Poet, the greateſt Poet of his Time; he wrote in Latin, and his Life may be ſeen in Tanner's Bibliotheca, under the article Viduus; the ſtate of thoſe times in theſe reſpects is given us in the following Lines:

" Syr Johne, a Knyghte, who hath a barne of lore,
" Kenns Latyn att fyrſt ſyghte from Frenche or Greke,
" Pyghtethe hys knowlachynge ten yeres or more,
" To rynge upon the Latynne worde to ſpeke.
" Whoever ſpekethe Englyſch ys deſpyſed,
" The Englyſch hym to pleaſe moſte fyrſte be latynized."

With regard to the fourth line in theſe Verſes I much doubt whether the Manuſcript in that place had not by ſome defect in it loſt a *w*, and if inſtead of *To rynge* we ſhould not read *Tow'rynge*, " Tow'rynge upon the Latynne worde to ſpeke.

By this addition of only one letter, the ſenſe and Engliſh both ſeem to be much improved; but thoſe, who eſpouſe the notion that Chatterton was the Author of this Piece, will, for obvious reaſons, be backward in admitting this alteration; for to change *Tow'rynge* into *To rynge* could not well be the act of an Author, though it might very eaſily of a Tranſcriber.

Of the Tales, page ſixty-eight, I have nothing to ſay; but " Playes made from hallie tales" were frequent in, and long after Edward the Fourth's reign; eſpecially where Churches were to be raiſed by the contributions they afforded.—I ſhall only add by the bye, that in the 48th line of the Piece,

in

in which theſe kind of Plays are mentioned, inſtead of *Droorie* we ſhould probably read Dɲeoʒ, (or angliciſing it Dreogie) for that is the Saxon word for *Modeſty*.

Theſe latter Extracts are taken from Rowley's Epiſtle to Canynge, whom in his following Letter he ſtyles the *Dygne* Maſtre Canynge, thereby giving into the faſhion, and latinizing the term beſtowed on Canynge; which the Reader may have obſerved is likewiſe done in the laſt of the quotations from Goddwyn, where the ſame word is repeated.

Complaint is never made in this Letter, that Poetry was no longer regarded; but that Hiſtory and Heraldry were the things chiefly in requeſt. Hiſtory it was very natural for the Readers of thoſe times to conſult; each party hoping to find in it ſomething for its purpoſe, in regard to the titles then in perpetual diſcuſſion on behalf of the lines of York and Lancaſter; and it was as natural for a Yorkiſt to raiſe objections againſt the older writers of Hiſtory, as dealing little in the truth; for the Right of Repreſentation, which was the Right by which Edward the Fourth claimed the Crown, was not fully eſtabliſhed 'til about the the reign of Edward the Firſt, and Aſſer, Ingolph, and the other elder Hiſtorians lived and wrote of things much antecedent to that reign.—Rowley living after the times when almoſt every Clerk was a Lawyer, and unable therefore to account for the many Precedents occurring in theſe old writers, which made againſt the mode of ſucceſſion under which the Houſe of York claimed, could hit off no better expedient for ſetting aſide their authority, than by calling their veracity in queſtion; which there-

fore, like a true Yorkiſt, he did, as will be ſeen preſently, roundly enough.

Rowley's backwardneſs of belief therefore, in reſpect to ſome points, admits of a ready explanation on the ſcore of Party; but ſhould it, on the other hand, be aſked what quarrel Chatterton could have with theſe Fathers of Engliſh Hiſtory, the anſwer will not be ſo eaſy, for, as they wrote in Latin, and their Works were never, I believe, tranſlated, his want of Literature muſt have been an effectual bar to his having any concern with them.

Heraldry was a thing to which Edward the Fourth paid much attention; Dugdale ſpeaks of his preſiding in Councils, where ſubjects relating to it were ſettled; and he was the firſt of our Princes, who joined Coats of Deſcent to his own, quartering with thoſe of his own family the Arms of Ulſter, March, and Genevile. He did this purpoſely that his Queen, Eliſabeth Widvile, might have an opportunity of doing the like; and by that means, though ſhe was only the daughter of a private Baron, be enabled to ſet forth the luſtre of her maternal deſcent, which was from the blood royal of France, and from ſome of the beſt families there. The following lines ſhew theſe things to have been in Rowley's thoughts at the time of his writing:

" Nowe poeſie canne meete wythe ne regrate,
" Whylſte proſe, and herehaughtrie, ryſe yn eſtate.
" Lette Kynges, and Rulers, whan heie gayne a throne,
" Shewe what theyre grandſieres and great grandſiers bore,
" Emarſchelled armes, yatte, ne before theyre owne,
" Now raung'd wyth whatt yeir fadres han before."

And

And lower down,

" A man aſcaunſe upponn a Piece maye looke,
" And ſhake hys hedde to ſtyrre hys rede aboute;
" Quod he, gyf I aſkaunted oere thys booke,
" Schulde fynde thereyn that trouthe ys left wythoute;
" Eke, gyf ynto a vew percaſe I tooke
" The longe beade-rolle of al the wrytynge route,
" Aſſerius, Ingolphus, Torgotte, Bedde,
" Thorow hem al nete lyche ytte I coulde rede."—

Before the preſent head is quite finiſhed, it will not be foreign from our purpoſe to mention a ſort of proof that Rowley did not ſpeak of the Authors juſt enumerated without firſt reading them.

In the Tragedy of Ælla at page 15, the two laſt verſes ſtand thus:

" The Danes, with terroure rulynge att their head,
" Threwe downe theyr bannere-talle, & lyche a ravenne fledde."

The Daniſh Standard was a Raven, as Rowley probably learnt from Aſſer's Life of Alfred, where one of them is ſpoken of as having been taken in an action in Devonſhire. As the Raven is not, that I have ever heard, remarkable for its ſwiftneſs, it is ſubmitted to the Reader, whether, in the ſecond of theſe lines, it was not originally written, in alluſion to this Standard, lyche *their* ravenne fledde. As this Emendation is founded only on conjecture, I ſhall draw no concluſion from it, but it is obvious what advantage might be made of this little circumſtance if the caſe was otherwiſe.—Again, in the Tragedy of Goddwyn is the following line:

" Mie Kentyſhmen, thie SUMMERTONS ſhall ryſe."

But

But *Summerton* is the name every-where given to the county of Somerſet by Aſſer, as Camden takes notice, who ſeems to have met with no other ancient Writer by whom it is ſo ſtyled: Rowley therefore, in all likelihood, adopted this old term from him.

But ſome perhaps think on the contrary, that Chatterton took it from Camden; ſuch as are ſo perſuaded, after the efforts uſed in this little Piece to bring them into, what I conceive to be, a better opinion, ſhall, without the trouble of any reply from me, be left to enjoy their own ſentiments.

The laſt thing which I ſhall take notice of in the reign of Edward the Fourth is the low ſtate into which Monkery was then falling. Chaucer had been hard upon the Monks in the Prologue to his Canterbury Tales, for their diſregard to their Rules, and affection for the Diverſions of the Field; Rowley in the Balade of Charitie, which is indeed, as it is called, excellent, and attacks them on the account of their want of Charity and their Pride; the latter is likewiſe ſtruck at in that line of the Epiſtle of Maſtre Canynge:

" Inne lithie moncke apperes the baronnes pryde."

Where, begging pardon of the Editor, the word LITHIE, which he thinks does not exiſt, is a very good one, and perfectly appoſite to the place in which it is uſed. It comes from the Anglo-Saxon adjective Liþ, tener, mollis, lenis, mitis, Matt. v. 5. " Eaðiġe ƿynð þa Liþan." Bleſſed are the meek.

Rowley we may obſerve is ſilent with reſpect to the learning of the Monks, for as Printing came in with this reign, and they were in poſſeſſion of the far greater part of the Manuſcripts then in the

King-

Kingdom, it was too early for the parochial Clergy to think of coping with them on that ſcore.

This gradual declenſion of the Monaſteries in the national eſteem undoubtedly helped in paving not a little of the way towards their total ſuppreſſion in a ſubſequent reign.

From what has been offered on this head, I ſhall draw only this ſhort inference: That Chatterton was acquainted with all the particulars, or, to ſpeake more properly, peculiarities above extracted, reſpecting the reign of Edward the Fourth, is more than can be well credited; yet of whichever of them he is ſuppoſed to have been ignorant, the Poem, in which it is inſerted, can no longer be looked upon as his.

There is indeed one Poem, as was hinted in the beginning of theſe Obſervations, in which Chatterton's ignorance and forwardneſs cauſed him to interfere more blameably than any where elſe.

In the *Gouler*'s *Requiem* the *Mark* is ſpoken of as a *gold coin*, which was no coin at all, but only a ſum in accounts, as the preſent pound is; and the *Noble* is mentioned as a *ſilver coin*, which was a gold one.—Theſe miſtakes could not come from one ſo converſant in the coins of his own time as Canynge, the ſuppoſed Author of this little Piece, and of conſequence Chatterton muſt have made an alteration in the four firſt lines, to render them ſuitable to his own ideas of Marks and Nobles.

Any one, who deſires further ſatisfaction on this head of Marks and Nobles, may receive it by conſulting the excellent Treatiſe on Coins, written by the late Mr. Clarke of Chicheſter; or, if that is not at hand, the Edition now publiſhing of Chambers's Dictionary will ſerve inſtead of it.

This

This Piece taken by itſelf would undoubtedly be reckoned as ſpurious; but, when we balance againſt it all the probabilities ariſing from the other Poems, it no longer claims our regard.

I ſhall therefore cloſe theſe Obſervations, after adding a few words on the Originals, whence, I hope the Reader is by this time ſatisfied, Chatterton's Copies were taken; and after mentioning the waies by which the Poems, in my conception, came ſo faulty to us as they have done.

In regard to the original Manuſcripts: whether it was from an apprehenſion that the Miniſter, the Churchwardens, or ſome Truſtees of the Pariſh of St. Mary Redclift, might attempt to wreſt them from him; or whenceſoever the real or imaginary occaſion for it aroſe; whatever the cauſe was, which rendered the young man very unwilling to diſcover whence he had the account of the ceremonies obſerved at the opening of the old bridge at Briſtol, it probably operated to the deſtruction of all the Originals, of which from that time he determined only to reſerve Copies.

When this raſh and inconſiderate ſtep had been taken, and doubts were ſtarted afterwards touching the genuineneſs of the Poems, in all probability he repented enough; but it was too late: He had deprived himſelf of the only means of juſtifying them, by which their authenticity could moſt properly and readily be ſhewn. With reſpect to the Copies taken by him, they could not well be otherwiſe than they proved for the following reaſons.

In the firſt place conſidering how old the Manuſcripts muſt have been when they came into his hands, it is moſt likely that time had occaſioned ſome defects in them.

In

In the next place, if Rowley's hand-writing reſembled the Manuſcripts which Chatterton produced for Originals, as probably it did ſo far as his memory ſerved him, it muſt have been a difficult one, and very different from the law-hands of either modern or ancient times; it is no wonder therefore if Chatterton frequently miſtook it. Here was then another ſource of error in his tranſcripts; and a third would ariſe from his ignorance in the language, and his raſhly venturing to ſubſtitute other words in the places of ſuch as he did not underſtand.

In the fourth place, we may perceive plainly ſeveral places, where this conceited young man, miſtaking the buſineſs of an Editor, made alterations for no other reaſon than his thinking them improvements. The effects of theſe four cauſes probably reach to almoſt every Poem in the Collection; but they are moſt diſtinguiſhable in ſuch of the Copies produced by Chatterton, as are nearly duplicates of each other, with ſome little variations. Of theſe there are not many, but enow to ſhew the temerity of the youth, and ſome of the lengths to which it carried him. Indeed this has appeared pretty well in what has been ſaid on the *Gouler's Requiem*; for to what bounds will he confine himſelf, who, in an affair of money, is not afraid to correct one, who in his time was a principal merchant in Briſtol?

From the various readings in the pretendedly original Manuſcripts and Copies, I ſhall ſelect only three; but, as in theſe there is no reſemblance in the orthography between the word uſed in one Manuſcript and that ſubſtituted for it in the other, they will ſerve as well as more to illuſtrate the point which I have in view.

In the ſonge to Ælla, the 22d and 23d verſes of the printed Copies ſtand thus:

" Orr whare thou *kennſt* fromm farre
" The *dyſmall* crye of warre."

In the piece of vellum which Chatterton gave to Mr. Barret as the original Manuſcript, the word *kennſt* is likewiſe uſed; but Chatterton in another Manuſcript changed it to *hearſt*, ſuppoſing doubtleſs that the word related only to viſion, and not knowing, that it comes from the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic cunnan, which ſignifies to know or perceive, by whatſoever medium that knowledge or perception is obtained; and in this enlarged ſenſe, though it eſcaped Chatterton's notice, the word is uſed in the above quoted line,

" To ſaie what he, as *Clergyon'd*, can *kenne*,"

As likewiſe in Goddwyn, page 177. line 9.

" I *ken* thie ſpryte ful welle;'——

Again in the ſecond of the juſt quoted verſes the word printed *dyſmall*, and ſo written in ſome Manuſcripts, is in the above vellum Manuſcripts and another Copy communicated to Mr. Barret rendered HONORE, a word probably much nearer to the Original than that ſubſtituted in its place. With the Reader's leave I would venture to write honcred-crye, the crye at cock-crowing, the crye at ſuch an early hour, as ſo vigilant a Commander as Ælla had, in the time of his life, it is to be preſumed in this panegyric upon him, been accuſtomed to attend to.

In the third line of Lydgate's Anſwer inſtead of the word VARSES of the printed Copy and of that in Mr. Catcott's poſſeſſion, two in Mr. Barret's hands, and

and one of them given to him by Chatterton as the Original, have PENE, a word far more likely to be the true one than the other. The Song or Ode to Ælla is PENE; that is, a PEANIE or PÆAN; Chatterton, "Jura negans ſibi nata," changed the word, of which he knew not one tittle, into VARSES.

From the cauſes then above enumerated, the faults, in the Copies produced by Chatterton, may well enough be accounted for, without going ſuch lengths as the Editor of the Poems has done, and ſuppoſing them a modern work, for theſe reaſons only, becauſe there are many and great faults in the Copies and pretendedly original Manuſcripts; and becauſe there are ſubjoined interpretations by way of Gloſſary to ſome of them.

To Chatterton indeed himſelf, if he was living and could underſtand it, it might be ſaid touching his bad performance in the work before us:

——Male dum recitas incipit eſſe tuum;

but ſurely it were too much to draw ſuch a concluſion ſeriouſly.

Upon the whole, the more I think upon the ſubject, the more ſtrongly I am led to conſider the Poems as——Res Antiquæ Laudis et Artis.

They have undoubtedly ſuffered much in their paſſage through the raſh and ignorant hands of Chatterton; but will, I am perſuaded, eſpecially if they ſhall hereafter by any good fortune get cleared of their faults, be eſteemed as a valuable addition to our Collection of ancient Engliſh Poetry.

FINIS.

REMARKS

ON THE

APPENDIX of the EDITOR

OF

ROWLEY's POEMS.

—— Antiquam exquirite matrem. VIRG.

THE Writer of the Appendix to Rowley's Poems arranges his arguments, againſt their genuineneſs, under three heads; "the firſt conſiſting of words not uſed by any other Writer;" and under this head he recommends twenty different terms to the Reader's conſideration,—the moſt of which ſhall now be examined:

"Whyleſt the congeon flowrette *abeſſie* dyghte."

"*Abeſſed.* humbled, or caſt down. Old word. Fren. *Abaiſſe.*" Bailey. See alſo Fenning. *Abeſſie dyghte* is humbly dreſſed.

"Agylted Ælla, thie *abredynge* blynge."

"*Abrædan.* dilatare. *abræd.* ſtrinxit. *Abredian.* ſtringere, diſtringere." Lye's Sax. Dict. "*Abreding.* upbraiding. *Chauc.* Bail. Abreding. part. upbraiding. An obſolete word in *Chauc.*" Fenning.

"Didde ſpeke *acroole*, wythe languiſhment of eyne."

"*To crool*, to growle, mutter, or mumble. O. W." Bail. "Crool, to ſpeak ſoftly to himſelf.—dicuntur & columbæ . Minſhew. Hence acrool. "*A* augmentum initiale uſitatiſſimum." Lye.

"Ontoe thie veſte the rodde ſonne ys *adente.*"

"*To adent.* to faſten. O. word." Bail.

"Laughe loudlie dynneth from the dolte *adrames.*"

Adraming.

Adraming. O. word. churliſh. Cocker. See alſo Bailey.

" Leave me ſwythe or I'lle *alatche*."

" *Ge-laðian*. ciere, arceſſere, advocare." Lye. " *Lathing:* Entreaty, or invitation. You need no " *Latching:* You need no invitation, or urging, " ab. A. S. *Geluthian*. to invite, to deſire to come." Ray's Collect. of Eng. words. p. 26. Leave me ſwythe, or I'lle *alatche*, that is, I'll call out for help.

" Where from the haile-ſtone could the *almer* flie?"

Palmer is a kind of pilgrim, but differed from the pilgrim properly ſo called, in the following things. The Palmer was allowed no dwelling: he went to no certain place: he travelled and lived entirely upon charity: nor was he ſuffered to lay down his profeſſion. The deſcription here exactly agrees with the Palmer, which word was, either through ſome circumſtance of ignorance in Chatterton, or defect in the Manuſcript, or elſe, perhaps, by way of ancient abbreviation, written *almer*,—as *ſperſt* for *diſperſed*, *peir* for *impair*, and *hem* for *them*, with many other words, in old Writers. The ſignification of *Palmer* may be found almoſt in any common Dictionary. The Palmer is frequently introduced by Spencer.

" Wythe murther tyred, he ſlynges hys bowe *alyne*."

Chatterton, who knew nothing about the meaning of this word, thus explains it, *acroſs his ſhoulders*; which is implied on the phraſe, *to ſling his bow*; Alynian, and alynnan, Sax. liberare.—hence *alyne*.—He ſlings his bow *unbent*.

Somme

Somme dryblette ſhare you ſhoulde to that *alyſe*.
Fulle twentie mancas I wylle thee *alyſe*.

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" *Alyſſan*, redimere, ſolvere. *Alyſan ſ land*, redi-
" mere terram, i. e. tributum pendere. *Alyſde*, exol-
" vebam. *Alſed beon*, redimi, liberari." Lye. *Aliſe* to releaſe. *Aliſed*, releaſed. *Aliſedneſs*, releaſing, ranſom, redemption." Verſtegan, page 208. " Acalyſus from yſle." An old Tranſlation of the Lord's Prayer in Camd. Rem. p. 24. Chatterton, not underſtanding this word, could not always make ſenſe of it, and therefore forbears to explain it, in ſome inſtances—as in Ælla 277.——" And the warriour to *alyſe*, i. e. to releaſe, or deliver him from his confuſion of mind."

And on hym laie the recer's lukewarme corſe,
That Alured coulde not hymſelf *aluſte*.

Aluſte or *Alyſt* appears to be only another form of the verb from *alyſan*, and here anſwers to the terms *releaſe* or *free*, as may be ſeen from the 411th line.

Brave Alured, from binethe his noble horſe,
Was gotten on his leggs, with bloode all ſmore;
Whych yn the bloſom would ſuch ſins *anete*.

Nedan, cogere, compellere—*Net*, coegit. *Nydian*, cogere, abigere. *Angdan*, repellere, expellere." Lye.

Whych yn the bloſom would ſuch ſins *anete*,

i. e. expel, or drive away.

Whych yn the boſom would ſuch ſins *anete*,
i. e. repel. ——

Applings.

" Mie tendre *Applynges* and embodyde trees."

The Saxons uſed the word *appel* or *appla*, in the general ſenſe of pomum among the Latins, as denoting all manner of fruit. See Lye. *Applings*, as a diminutive term, is a good word, ſignifying leſſer kinds of fruit, which are here properly diſtinguiſhed from *embodyde* trees—*emb*, circum, & *bodige*, truncus. Chatterton, not underſtanding the word, explains *Applings* by *grafted* trees; but that circumſtance of *grafting* does not at all diſtinguiſh them from *embodyde* trees. Virgil in Geor. ii. 426. uſes *poma* for *arbores*.

Han by his ſoundynge *arrowe-lede* been *ſleyne*.

Lade, iter, profectio,—*ſe us ðas lade ſecop*. qui nobis hoc iter deſignavit." Lye. " *Lijde*, tranſitus, meatus." Binnard's Teut. Dict. See alſo Ray's Collect. p. 61. Arrow-lede ſignifies the path of the arrow, which the Writer of the foregoing Obſervations well explains in the following manner: " He took a bow and drew it hard, not doubting " from the path of the arrow, but that it carried " death to ſome one: for the path, or way, in which " an arrow paſſes, muſt needs be ſounding, and " fatal to ſuch as are in it, and may therefore, in " poetic diction, be ſaid to ſlay them."

But Harold's *Aſenglave* ſtopp'd it, as it flewe.

Scen, *ſcene*, *ſheen*, clarus, fulgidus, nitidus. Sax. " *Glave*, a hook or bill." Cocker. " Glayve or " Glaive. *Gallic*. *Latin*, Gladius; quaſi Cladius, " a clade. vid. Sword." Minſhew. *Aſenglave*, a ſhining ſword: A bright hook or bill.

That doeſt *aſlee* alonge ynn doled dyſtreſſe.

" *Slie-fellow*, a corner-creeper. a *ſchleichen*, " Teut. Sax. *Slicken*, a *zechel* Heb. reptavit. a quo

&

" & *Schleiche*, ſerpentis nomen, à reptando & inſi-
" diando. Unde & Belg. *Sluyper* ille dicitur, qui
" tacitè, occultè, furtim ſeſe proripit." Minſhew in *Slie*. That doeſt *aſlee* (creep like a coward) alonge in doled dyſtreſſe.

Aſſwaie.

Botte thos to leave thee, Birtha, dothe *aſſwaie*
Moe torturynge peynes——

" *Schuyven*, movere, protrudere, recedere, loco
" moveri."—Binnart. " *Sway* (ab ſchweben Germ. to move) to wield a ſceptre."—See Johnſon, Bailey, Fenning. *Sway* was formerly thus written, *Swaie*, as may be ſeen in Minſhew. Hence *aſwaie*, or *aſſwaie*—to move, or ſtir up.

Moe torturynge paynes yanne canne be ſedde bie tyngue

Aſtende.

Acheke the mokie air and heaven *aſtende*.

" *Stigan*, *Stigon*, ire, diſcedere, item aſcendere. *Aſtigan*, ſcandere, aſcendere." Lye. Nicholas de Hereford, in the year 1382, before Courtney, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his defence, thus ſpeaks of Chriſt, " that roos fro death to lyve the thridde day, and ſley up into hevene"—And John Aſton alſo, before the ſame Archbiſhop, in the following manner,—" and the thridde day ros fro deth to lyve, and ſteyde up into heven." And Dr. Wicliffe ſays, " Chriſt was ſtenenyde to heven." Chatterton of this, as alſo of many other words, gives proof of his ignorance, and explains the term *aſtoniſh*: whereas the ſenſe is, that the cries of the widow, fatherleſs and bondmen,

Acheke the mokie air and heaven aſcend.

He had before introduced the word *aſcend*, or *climb to heaven*, and therefore uſes here *aſtend* for the ſake of variety.

All the terms in the Editor's firſt claſs of words are now conſidered, except *Aborne*, *Adave*, and *Anere*. *Adave* is for the preſent given up, not as a word of Chatterton's own making, but as one rendered obſcure either through his ignorance, or ſome other circumſtance. *Aborne* might be eaſily explained and vindicated, were it needful; but this term cannot be juſtly urged on either ſide of the queſtion, becauſe not only the whole line, but a part of the foregoing one, appears to have ſuffered either through thoſe defects, which time brings with it, or through the errors of ſome tranſcriber who underſtood not the language, or perhaps by means of both together. The following conjecture of the Writer of the following Obſervations is ſo pertinent in itſelf, that it muſt not be omitted. I have, ſaid he, ſomewhere read, that a ſhield erected on the top of a caſtle was a ſignal for the homagers to attend its Lord there; and why might not a bow added to it denote that it was not for any purpoſe againſt an enemy, but only for a trial of ſkill in archery? What then, if, making a little alteration, we thus read the line in queſtion,

Sett oppe hys long ſtrunge bowe and ſhielde utborne.

Which might be conſidered as a very proper ſummons or beheſt to William's homagers, for their attendance upon him for ſuch a purpoſe. *Anere*, though at preſent unexplained, yet evidently appears to have been originally no term of Chatterton's; for himſelf could not make ſenſe of it, in the cloſe of the Epiſtle to Canynge. He may indeed be conſidered as having given the beſt inter-

pretation

pretation in his power, but he muſt know, at the time, that his explanation was not ſuited to the paſſage, and that it would by no means ſatisfy an intelligent Reader. However, the facts, here alledged, ſufficiently prove, that the Author of the Appendix was miſtaken in thoſe words which he gives, as "not uſed by any other Writer."

Under the ſecond general head, the Author of the Appendix ſets down an equal number of words, as under the foregoing; "uſed indeed, he "ſays, by other Writers, but in a different ſenſe." Thus *Abounde:*

And hytt his Knyghte, de Beque, upon the ear;
His criſtede beaver dyd him ſmalle *abounde*,
The cruel ſpear went thorough all his hede;
The purpel bloude came gouſhynge to the grounde.

"The common ſenſe, ſays he, of *Abound*, a verb, is "well known, but what can be the meaning of it "here? And again—the context ſhews that it is "uſed in the ſenſe of *good*." The meaning of the paſſage is evidently this: his creſted beaver afforded him but a ſmall defence, for the ſpear went through all his head. *Abounde* ſeems to be derived from the following Saxon verb: *Gebindan, ligare, vincire, conſtringere, aſtringere*; hence, *Bunden, Gebunden, Abunden*[a]. The word was undoubtedly uſed to bind, or encompaſs by way of defence; and a beaver was deſigned to encompaſs the head, for that end. *Abounde* does not ſeem to be uſed here as a verb, but as a ſubſtantive, which may be gathered from the adjective *ſmall*, joined with it. *To do* is very often *to render, to afford*, as to do him ſervice is to render him ſervice. His creſted

[a] Lye.

creſted

beaver afforded him ſmall binding by way of defence, for it ought to have covered his *ear*; and then it might, perhaps, have prevented the ſpear from going through his head.

Lette notte thie agreme blyn, ne *aledge* ſtonde;

" *Alege*, or *aledge*, we are told, ſignifies in Chau-
" cer to alleviate, but Chatterton interprets it to
" mean idly." Bailey from Chaucer gives *alege*, to diminiſh, which would indicate the uſe of the term in the paſſage before us, whatever might become of Chatterton's Gloſſary, which is here by no means an object of defence. *Aledge*, in the above quoted line, is from the Saxon *aleegan*, *alegan*, deponere, imminuere, tollere, deprimere, confutare—*allegan unriht*, reprimere injuſtitiam—Hence *alegd*, *aledge*, and *alegen* coarctatus. *Agreme* is from *Gremian*, incitare, irritare, exacerbare, &c. *Gram* furioſus, &c. *Greme* ira, furor, indignation. *Blyn* from *Blinnan*, ceſſare, deſinere—*butan blinne*, ſine intermiſſione [a].

Let not thy fury ſtop, nor repreſs'd, ſtand;
Be I to weep—I weep in tears of gore—
All-a-boon, Syr Prieſt, *all-a-boon*.——
Thys ys the onelie *all-a-boon* I crave.

" Here are three Engliſh words, it is ſaid, the
" ſenſe of which, taken ſeparately, is clear. As
" joined together in this paſſage, they are quite un-
" intelligible." The queſtion is not merely concerning the ſenſe of each term taken ſeparately, but concerning the meaning of the whole as a phraſe; and the thing to be proved is this; either, that there never was ſuch a phraſe, or elſe, that it

[a] Idem.

is

is here uſed in a ſenſe different from its meaning in all other Writers, with whom it is found. It is, indeed, aſſerted, that "Skinner was entirely miſ-"taken in making one phraſe of theſe three words." But no other proof is given of the fact, than the Editor's own arbitrary interpretation of a paſſage in Chaucer, to which Skinner refers——he bade hem *all a bone*—"that is, ſays the Editor, he "made a requeſt to them all." Let it be ſuppoſed that Skinner was miſtaken in his attempt to explain the reaſon and origin of this phraſe, and alſo in the authority to which he refers for its uſe; yet it by no means follows, that Skinner was miſtaken as to the reality of the phraſe itſelf, or as to the ſenſe in which, he ſays it was uſed. He recorded the phraſe and its meaning juſt as he found them. And beſides, there is as much reaſon to ſuſpect that this Writer himſelf hath miſtaken the paſſage quoted from Chaucer, as that Skinner miſunderſtood it. This will appear from the words of the Poet:

Place bo came, and ehe his frendes ſone
And alder firſt he badde hem al abone,
That non of hem non argumentes make
Agenſt his purpoſe that he hath itake[a].—

Theſe lines are quoted from an edition of Chaucer dedicated to Henry the Eighth, in which it appears, that the phraſe was not then thought to conſiſt of three diſtinct words, and that the *a* was not conſidered as the article, ſet before ſubſtantives, which exactly coincides with Skinner's idea of the paſſage: And indeed, if *al abone* had not been anciently uſed in a ſenſe like that here given, it is

[a] Merchant's Tale.

not

not probable that Skinner would have ever attempted ſuch an explanation as that which he has offered. Bailey alſo thus records and explains the phraſe, "*All-A-Bone*," a made requeſt. Old Engliſh. Chatterton no-where interprets the meaning of this ſentence; he only ſays of the whole, what every Reader muſt obſerve, that it is "A manner "of aſking a favour." Here are ſufficient authorities for the uſe of the phraſe; but no proof is given that it is improperly applied in theſe Poems.

Mie ſonne, mie ſonne *Alleyn* yſtarven ys.

"No ancient Writer, it is apprehended, ever "uſed ſuch a phraſe as this; any more than we "ſhould now ſay—*my ſon alone* for *my only ſon.*" The diſpute here is not about the meaning, but the poſition, of the word: a trifling circumſtance indeed! concerning which we cannot juſtly reaſon from the Moderns to the Ancients, as will appear from the following examples:

And ſayd, coſyn *myne*, what eyleth the
That arte ſo pale and deedly for to ſe?—
—Alas (quod he) Arcite coſyn *myne*,
Of all our ſtrife, God wot, the frute is thyne[b].

Aſcaunce is the next word againſt which objections are raiſed.

Lokeynge *aſcaunce* upon the naighboure greene.

To this line the liberty ſhall be taken of adding another:

"Brave Harolde lookd *aſkaunte*, and thus replyd."

Aſcaunce and *Aſkaunte*, in theſe two lines, were uſed in the ſame ſenſe: *Aſcaunce* is, therefore, with-

[b] Chau. Knight's Tale.

out

out doubt, intended for *Aſkaunce*: The *c* and *k* were, in former times, indifferently uſed, the one for the other; or perhaps Chatterton might have taken the liberty of altering the mode of ſpelling, in the former caſe. *Aſkaunce* is given by Lewis in his table of obſolete terms found in the writings of Wicliffe; and from a Gloſſary on difficult words in Chaucer, at the end of the edition of 1721, he explains it *aſkew*, *aſide*, *awry*. *Aſkaunce* is from the Saxon *Sceawian*, or *Skeawian*, to view, to look at, to conſider. Hence, *Aſcunian* evitare, aufugere, declinare, deteſtari. There is no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that looking *Aſkaunce* was not, in the fifteenth century, a very good phraſe, for looking diſdainfully, in which ſenſe it is here uſed.

——You have theyr worthe *aſterte*.

"I deſpair, ſays the Editor, of finding any au-
"thorized ſenſe of the word that will ſuit this
"paſſage." *Aſtered* orbatus, *aſterneſſe* orbatio, *aſterte* orphani: all theſe are from *Aſteran*, regere, corrigere, corripere. — You have theyr worthe *aſterte*: i. e. *deſerted*, or *forſaken*, or *checked*; for the word *aſterte* is equally good in any of theſe ſenſes.

Aumere.

Depyete wyth ſkylled honde uppon thie wyde *aumere*,
—And ehe the grounde was dighte in its moſe defte *aumere*.
—Wythe gellen *aumeres* ſtronge ontalde.——

"The only place, ſays the Writer of the Ap-
"pendix, in which I remember to have met with
"this word is in Chaucer's Romant of the Roſe,
"and there it undoubtedly ſignifies *a purſe*; pro-
"bably from the French *Aumoniere*. *Aumere of*

"*ſilk* is Chaucer's tranſlation of *Bourſe de joye*[e]." And afterward both Chatterton and Skinner are charged with ignorance for explaining aumere by the word *border*. This Gentleman cannot be juſtly offended, if any one ſhould refuſe to take all this upon his bare word, becauſe we do not all *remember* with the ſame exactneſs, and the paſſage from Chaucer might have been ſo eaſily given by way of confirmation. The Poet, after recommending care and neatneſs in apparel, that

Poyntes and ſleves be wel ſyttande
Right and ſtreight on the hande:

Thus goes on with his admonitions:

Of ſhone and bootes newe and fayre
Loke at the leeſt thou have a payre,
And that they ſytte ſo fetouſly
That theſe rude may utterly
Mervayle, ſythe that they ſytte ſo playne,
Howe they come an, or of agayne.
Weare ſtrayte gloves with *aumere*
Of ſylke; and alway with good chere[f]——

Bailey gives aumere as an Old Engliſh word, and ſays, it denotes a *welt*, *ſkirt*, or *border*: and Skinner appears to have been right both in his explanation of Chaucer's term, and in his derivation of the word.

Nott, whan from the *barbed* horſe, &c.
Mie lord fadre's *barbde* halle han ne wynnynge.

"Let it be allowed, that *barbed horſe* was a proper expreſſion, in the fifteenth Century, for *a horſe covered with armour*, can any one conceive

[e] Appendix, p. 316. [f] Romant of the Roſe.

"that

" that *barbed hall* ſignified *a hall in which armour* " *was hung?*" Why not? where is the impro- " priety in ſuch an application of the term? However, there is no abſolute neceſſity for underſtanding the phraſe *barbde hall* to ſignify only a hall, in which armour was hung. *To barb* originally and ſtrictly is *to trim* and *dreſs the beard*, or *to put it into proper form:* Hence the word was applied to many other things, when dreſſed, or put into a certain order; and was uſed for dreſſing and adorning. A *barbed horſe* was a horſe adorned with trappings and ornaments ſuited to the occaſion, and not merely a horſe covered with armour; and a *barbde hall* is juſt as good a phraſe for a hall adorned with proper furniture, without confining it to the idea of armour only; and the term *barbed* is as near to the original uſe of the word, in the one caſe, as in the other.

Whanne autumpne *blake* and ſonne brente do appere.
Blake ſtondeth future doome———

" *Blake*, ſays the Editor in his Appendix, in Old " Engliſh, may either ſignify *blatch*, or *bleak*. Chat- " terton, in both theſe paſſages, renders it *naked:* " and, in the latter, ſome ſuch ſignification ſeems " abſolutely neceſſary to make any ſenſe[g]." This is by no means the only inſtance, wherein both Chatterton and the Editor are equally miſtaken. Bailey ſays *blake* is ſpoken of butter and cheeſe, and ſignifies *yellow*. The word is applied likewiſe to many other things. *Blake* is from the Saxon *Blacian*, pallere, albeſcere, & nigreſcere. Hence *Blacuny*, pallor; and *Blac*, *blaca*, niger, ater, teter, pallidus, fuſcus, pullus. *Blake* is a good and au-

[g] Appendix, p. 317.

thentic word, and, as applied to Autumn in this paſſage, is an expreſſive epithet, denoting both the colour and withered ſtate of ſtalks and leaves; which alſo is further expreſſed by the word *guylteynge*, or *welting*, in reference to their ſhrivelled and puckered appearance:

Whanne autumpne *blake* and ſonne brente do appere
With hys goulde honde *guylteynge* the falleynge lefe.

Blake alſo, as anſwering to *ater* and *teter*, is applied to any thing diſagreeable, frightful, or horrid: Thus it is uſed by Chaucer in "the Frankeleynes "Tale," quoted indeed, though perhaps very little known, by the Writer of the Appendix:

But, whan ſhe ſawe the gryſly rockes *blake*,
For very fear, ſo wolde her herte quake—
That on her fete ſhe myght not her ſuſtene.
Eterne God!——
In ydle, as men ſayn, doſte thou nothing make?
But Lord! theſe griſly fendely rockes *blake*
That ſemen rather a foule confuſyon
Of werke———
——And wolde God that all theſe rockes *blake*
Were ſonken into hell for his ſake,
Theſe rockes ſlee myn hert for fear.—

And in other parts of the tale, this word occurs, as an epithet applied to hideous rocks. Hence the latter uſe of this term in Rowley; *Blake*, that is, frightful or horrid, ſtondethe future doome.——

And for a *bodykyn* a *ſwarthe* obteyne.

"*Bodekyn*, ſays the Editor, is uſed by Chaucer "more than once to ſignify a *bodkin* or *dagger*. I "know not that it had any other ſignification in "his time. *Swarthe*, uſed as a noun, has no ſenſe

" that I am acquainted with." *Bodykin* is at any time a good diminutive term, and is uſed in this paſſage, with full as much propriety, as where it is put for a *bodkin* or a *dagger*. Bailey, if authorities be wanted, gives us " *bodykin*, a little body," and calls it an old Engliſh word. See alſo Fenning on *Bodkin*. " *Swarth*, Cumberland, the Ghoſt of a dying perſon; " fort. ab Aſ. *Sweart*. " black, dark, pale, wan." Ray's Collect. of Engliſh words. See alſo Bailey. *Swarthe* is here properly uſed for a mere ſhadow or reſemblance: and ſuch is the idea under the the term in Cumberland. They apply it to the ſimilitude of what a perſon uſed to be in dreſs and manner, who, at the time of the ſuppoſed appearance, was in a dying ſtate. They do not uſe it, in general, for the Ghoſt of a deceaſed perſon:

Moſte we aie holde yn chace the ſhade content,
And for a *bodykin* a *ſwarthe* obteyne?

Bordel and Bordelier.

Goe ſerche the logges and bordels of the hynde.

It is acknowledged, that bordel, in very old French, ſignifies a cottage, and bordelier, a cottager: there is therefore as much authority for the ſenſe given to theſe words in Rowley, as for their meaning in Chaucer; ſince he alſo borrows his uſe of the terms from the French. And how the ſame word came to be uſed, in theſe two different ſenſes, might be eaſily ſhewn, were it needful. It is not at all improbable, that bordel ſhould be uſed for a cottage even in the days of Chaucer, and after his times. *Borrel*, a plain rude fellow, a boor, ſeems to be only an abbreviation of *Bordelier*.

Roarynge and rolleynge on yn courſe bismare.

" Biſ-

" Biſmare in Chaucer, ſays the Editor, ſignifies " *abuſive ſpeech*; nor do I believe that it ever had " any other ſignification [h]." No other ſignification is wanted. *Roaring* too is often applied to abuſive ſpeech; yet it is not, on that account, improperly uſed in this line. *Biſmerian*, to uſe one dirtily, to throw dirt, to ſplaſh, to diſgrace, to ſcoff at, to mock, to taunt, to inſult. Such expreſſions as theſe are often metaphorically applied to rivers by the beſt Poets. A noiſy ſtream is here deſcribed running among ſtones and rocks; its daſhing and, as it were, taunting inſult are beautifully expreſſed by a metaphor, in the ſingle word *biſmare*.

Roarynge and rolleynge on yn courſe *Biſmare*, that is, taunting and daſhing its banks.

Champyon, *Conteke*, *Derne*, *Dernie*, and *Droorie*.

Champyon is not ſuppoſed, in the Appendix, to have been uſed, as a verb, by any Writer much earlier than Shakeſpeare; and, though *Conteke* is uſed by Chaucer as a noun for *contention*, yet the Editor knows no inſtance of its being uſed as a verb. Now, if *Champyon* be found as a verb before Shakeſpeare's time, what probable reaſon can be aſſigned, why it was not ſo uſed in Rowley's days? Bailey gives us *Contekors*, an old word for contentious, quarrelſome, ridiculous perſons. *Contekors*, one would imagine, as naturally imply the uſe of the verb to *conteke*, as *contractors* do the uſe of the verb *to contract*, or writers, *to write*. " *Derne* is called a Saxon adj. ſignifying *ſecret*, *pri-* " *vate*, in which ſenſe it is ſaid to be uſed more " than once by Chaucer, and in no other." It is, at leaſt, very doubtful, whether *Derne* is ever uſed in this ſenſe by Chaucer. Neither Benſon, nor

[h] Appendix, p. 318, 319.

Lye,

Lye, give any ſuch Saxon adjective as *Derne*. Ray in his Collection of Words has "*Dearn*, for lonely, "ſolitary, very far from neighbours." Minſhew, on *Dernal*, thus expreſſes himſelf:—"*ex Belg. deyren. vel deren, i. e. nocere* to hurt. "For cockle is hurtful to corn. *Vel Darnell, quaſi Thornel ex Belg. deurn, ſpina*, a thorn." Bailey gives us "*Dern*, an old "word for *ſad, ſolitary*; alſo *barbarous* or *cruel*; and "*Drenic, ſorrowful.*" Theſe inſtances are ſufficient to vindicate the uſe of *Derne* and *Dernie* in Rowley's Poems. Chatterton in one paſſage defines *Droorie* by modeſty:

Botte lette ne wordes, which *droorie* mote ne heare
Bee placed in the ſame——

The Writer of the Appendix ſays "*Druerie* is "*courtſhip, gallantry*, which ſenſe will not ſuit the above paſſage." But it is doubtful, whether Druerie ever conveys any ſuch idea." Drew, Drewrie, ſays Verſtegan, is ſpoken of ſadneſs, melancholy." *Dreogan* tolerare, ſufferre; *Dreog*, modeſtia; *Dreori*, mœſtus, contriſtatus, lugubris; *Ge-dreag*, modeſtia, ſeceſſus modeſtiæ gratia; *mid gedreog*, cum modeſtia, gravitate,—alſo the word ſignifies patient, ſober;—*Ge-dreohlice*, patienter, modeſte, prudenter, caute, diſcrete [i]. Bailey alſo gives *Drury*, an old word, for ſobriety, modeſty:

Decorn wyth *formes* rare——

The Editor does not believe that formes ever had any other ſignification than fools. *Fon*, a Saxon verb, capere, accipere, recipere. In Wicliff "theſe *fonnyd* Lords and people" ſignifies Lords and people *deluded* by the tricks of the prieſts [k]. Let this be compared with the following lines,——

[i] Lye. [k] Lewis's Life of Wicliff, p. 134.

Hon.

Honnoure, whatte bee ytte? tys a ſhadowes ſhade,
A thynge of wycheneref, an idle dreme;
On of the *fonnis* whych the clerche have made,
Menne wydhoute ſprytes, and wommen for to fleme [1].

There are two examples of this word, in different tranſlations of the Lord's Prayer, preſerved in Camden's Remaines:

Ne let ous fall into no *founding*
Ac ſhield ous fro the fowle thing. Amen.

Let us not in *founding* fall
Oac fro evill thee ſyld us all. Amen.

Bailey alſo gives us *Fonnes*, an old word for *Devices*.

Knopped. Lecturn. Lithie.

"*Knopped*, it is ſaid, was uſed by Chaucer to ſig-"nify *faſtened* with a button, from *knoppe*, a button, &c." Now Chaucer and his button are entirely out of the queſtion, on this occaſion, for the ſenſe of the line is obvious.

Theyre myghte ys *knipped* ynne the froſte of fere.

And the word was perhaps originally written *kneipped*, from the Teutonic *kneippen*, *kniepen*, *nijpen*, to nip, to pinch, *Lecturn* is ſaid by Chatterton to to mean *ſubject*; the Writer of the Appendix ſays, that it can only ſignify *a reading deſk*; which makes the paſſage nonſenſe:

An onliſt *lecturn*, and a ſonge adygne.

Chatterton never underſtood this line, as is evident from his Gloſſary; for, if we read his inter-

[1] Ælla, 419.

pre-

pretation, inſtead of the line itſelf, yet it will not make ſenſe.

Vearſe maie be goode, but poeſie wants more.

A boundleſs ſubject, and a ſong *nervous*, or *worthy of praiſe*. Is a *boundleſs* ſubject eſſential to good poetry? or where does *adygne* ſignify *nervous*? It appears ſomewhat ſtrange, that the Editor ſhould only ſingle out the word *lecturn*, on this occaſion, when the whole line called for his attention. *Onliſt* is an expreſſive term, and capable of a two-fold derivation, from the Saxon *on* a prepoſition, and *liſt* ſcientia, ars, ſapientia, vis, monitum: hence *liſtum* perite, ſolerter, artificioſe, callide, verſute. *On*, in compoſition, is intenſive. *Onliſt* then as an adjective may ſignify *artful*, *very ſkilful*, *wiſely contrived*. But the ſenſe will be equally good, and the word equally authentic, if we derive it from "*lyſtan*, velle, cupere, deſiderare: hence *lyſt* deſi-" derium, ſtudium, admiratio: he wæs *Onlyſte* thæs " ſeldecuthan ſones, erat (raptus) admiratione raræ " cantilenæ [m]." *Adygne* was, in all probability, written, in the Manuſcript, *Adyne* from the Saxon ðynan to ſound: hence *dyn*, *adyn*, ſonitus, ſonus, ſtrepitus, fragor, &c. *A Song adyne* is ſounding verſe, ſuch as becomes the *os magna ſonaturum*. The real word, inſtead of which *lecturn* is given, was either not underſtood by Chatterton, or elſe ſomewhat defaced by time; and his ignorance of the reſt of the line clearly ſhews that he knew not how to ſupply the deficiency. The genuine term might be the French ſubſtantive *lecture*, reading, put for the whole of that which is read: or it was perhaps ſome word derived from the Gothic *liſan*

[m] Appendix, p. 320.

legere, colligere: hence the Saxon Leȝan, and the Teutonic *Leſen* legere, recitare; and the old Engliſh *leſſon*. If we underſtand *Onliſt* according to the latter interpretation, the ſenſe of the paſſage will be this:

Verſe may be good, but poeſy wants more.

An *Onliſt* lecture, or leſſon, (*i. e.* ſuch as will carry away the ſoul of the reader with delight) and a ſong *adyne:* which Horace thus expreſſes,

Non ſatis eſt pulcra eſſe poemata: dulcia ſunto;
Et, quocunque volent, animum auditoris agunto.

However, this line, even in its preſent defaced condition, carries evident marks of its original beauty.

The Editor is alſo miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that there is no ſuch word as *lithie*; it is a very ſignificant term: *lith, litha, lithe,* Saxon tener, mollis, lenis, quietus, mitis. *Eadige ſyndtha lithan,* bleſſed are the meek. Bailey likewiſe gives *lithy, lithie,* an old Engliſh word, for humble, quiet, mild; and the language of the following line is authentic:

Inne *lithie* moncke apperes the baronnes pryde.

THE Writer of the Appendix under his third general head arranges words inflected contrary to grammar and cuſtom. "In a language," ſays he, "like ours, in which the inflections are ſo few and "ſo ſimple, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that a Wri-"ter, even of the loweſt claſs, would commit very "frequent offences of this ſort. I ſhall take no-"tice of ſome, which I think impoſſible to have

"fallen

" fallen from a genuine Rowley [n]." It is a very diſagreeable employment to look into any Writer, in order to find out grammatical errors; which, notwithſtanding the opinion of this Gentleman, in the foregoing ſentence, are too frequent even in our beſt Authors. Nay, every example, here urged againſt the genuineneſs of Rowley's Poems, may be found in our beſt modern Poets. If any one doubt the truth of this aſſertion, let him look over the notes in Dr. Lowthe's Introduction to Engliſh Grammar. What ſhould we think, if ſpecimens of this kind were urged as a proof, that Pope was not the Author of ſome of the fineſt Pieces that were ever ſaid to be his? But the painful taſk muſt not be forgotten. It cannot be wondered, that ſome exceptionable inſtances ſhould be found in theſe Poems, when, not to mention the ſtate of our language in the fifteenth century, we conſider in how many places they may have been ſubject to unſkilful emendations, and, where the Manuſcripts were defaced, to illiterate conjectures. However, the examples given ſhall be reviewed in their order:

Fierce as a *clevis* from a rock ytorn.

Clevis is ſaid to be the plural number of *cleve*, and therefore improper in this place. In old times *v* and *f* were uſed one for the other: hence *clif*, *cliv*, *clev*, or *cleve*.

Fierce as a *clev* is from a rock ytorn.

The next example is in the word *eyne*, which, being a contraction of *eyen*, is the plural number of *eye*: " It is not to be ſuppoſed that an ancient

[n] Appendix, p. 320.

" Writer would have ſaid,—*In every eyne*,—any more " than we ſhould now ſay, *every eyes*, with ſuch *an* " *eyes*." Without entering into the various uſes of the word *eye* and *eyne*, and without ſtating examples of plural nouns, ſo frequently uſed in the ſingular number, as to take a new plural termination, which has been the caſe with *chicken*, the plural of *chick*, now *chickens*; it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that, in every inſtance here given, the word *eyne* is put for a ſignificant look, in which both eyes are equally concerned; and the ſenſe of the paſſages would remain the ſame, were the term *look* ſubſtituted for that of *eyne*:

In everich *look* are dynge nete of wyere.
Wyth ſyke a *look* ſhe ſwotelie hym dyd view.
Inne everie *look* I kenne the lowe of myghte
Sheenynge abrode.——

If we put the term *eye*, in the ſingular number, inſtead of *look*, yet ſtill both eyes muſt be implied in the word:

Wythe ſyke an *eye* ſhe ſwotelie hym dyd view.

Without any great variation, therefore, from the uſual application of the word *eye*, the term *eyne* may be allowed in the ſingular number as a good poetic and deſcriptive phraſe for a ſignificant or expreſſive look. And the very ſame Writer, it may be, in former times, would not have ſcrupled to ſay, in the caſes here alledged, *with ſuch an eyne*, who yet would not have allowed, in general, with *ſuch an eyne*, and never, *with ſuch an eyes*: Our anceſtors uſed *eyne-brow*, *eyne-ſight*, *eyne-bright*: hence *an eagan-bryhtm* ° momentum temporis; but

° Lye in *bryghtm*.

we

we ſay *eye-brow*, *eye-ſight*, *eye-bright*, and the twinkling of *an eye*, yet including, in each of theſe phraſes, both the eyes.

Heie and *Thyſſen.*

It is not at all improbable, that the ſame Writer ſhould, in the ſuppoſed Rowley's time, indifferently uſe *heie* and *theie*, as is done in theſe Poems. The following terms are indifferently employed by Wicliffe—*hiſ*, *yef God wul* and *if*: *his*, *hiſe*, and *hys*: *thei* and *they*: *hem* and *them*: *dere*, *her*, *here* and *their*; with many other examples which might be added both from him and Chaucer. *Thyſom*, *thyſon*, and *thiſon* were uſed by the Anglo-Saxons both in the ſingular and plural number; it is therefore by no means incredible that the phraſe *thyſſen men* ſhould be found, in the days of Rowley: and what is called an unſkilful addition of the termination *en* was frequent in the fifteenth century.

"This, ſays the Editor, leads me to the capital "blunder, which runs through all theſe Poems, "and would alone be ſufficient to deſtroy their cre- "dit; I mean the termination of verbs in the ſin- "gular number in *n*." [p] In a note given at the bottom of the ſame page, *a profeſſed Editor* of Chaucer is alſo charged with falling into the ſame error, "without any authority, even from the "errors of former Editions or MSS." But the Writer of the Appendix immediately proceeds to the inſtances which he had in view, and begins with *han*, and for our aſſiſtance lays down the following rule: "*Han*, being an abreviation of *ha-* "*ven*, is never uſed by any ancient Writer, ex- "cept in the preſent time *plural* and the infinitive

[p] Appendix, p. 321.

"mood."

" mood." Wicliff ſays " Bemers and Britons *hem* " the Bible."—This is in the preſent time and agrees with the rule. But Wicliff ſays, " We " believe as Chriſt and his Apoſtolus *han* taught " us—the Pope and the Cardynals by falſe lawes " that they *han* made."—Theſe examples are contrary to the rule. Verſtegan ſays " *Han* or *han* was " anciently uſed for *have*; and to this day, they ſay, " in ſome parts of England, *han* you any? for " have any? This term added to *rye*, which de- " notes poſſeſſions, he ſays gives us *Hanrye*, or " *Henry*, i. e. *a haver* of wealth." The following is both in the paſt time and ſingular number:

" In witneſs of the ſothe,
" Jeh *han* bitten this wax with my wang tothe [q].

" Alluding to the cuſtom, before the common uſe " of ſeals in England, of biting the wax on writ- " ings, with what is called the wang tooth of him " that paſſed them." Chaucer, as underſtood about 250 years ago, for we muſt not converſe with modern editions, uſes this language:

She wende never *han* come in ſuch a trappe!
Alas! (quod ſhe) that ever this ſhould happe!
And told him al as ye *han* herde before [r].

" And whan ye *han* taken counſayle in yourſelf, " and *han* demed by good delyberacion ſuche " thynge."—And, on the very ſame page, *han* is uſed for *had*: " Our Lorde God of Heven ne wolde, neyther *han* wrought hem [s]."——

[q] Verſteg, p. 261. 263. [r] Frank. Tale. [s] The Tale of Chauc. Romant of the Roſe and Merch. Tale.

Again,

Again,

The byrdes that *han* left her ſonge
Whyle they *han* ſuffered cold ful ſtronge,—
And with this worde, Juſtyne and his brother
Han take her leave, and eche of hem of other—

Numerous examples of this kind may be found in Chaucer. As the firſt perſon ſingular, and the third plural of *have*, both as a verb, and as an auxiliary term, becauſe the ſame, we might reaſonably ſuppoſe, were there no proof of it, that *han* would be uſed for *have*, in the one perſon and tenſe, as well as in the other: the Editor's rule, therefore, neither agrees with fact, nor grammatical analogy.

"In the ſame irregular manner, ſays the Writer "of the Appendix, the following verbs are uſed ſin-"gularly;" and then he gives eleven examples of this error, ſome of which can by no means be allowed, as favourable to his purpoſe; they being evidently participles and not verbs, and three or four of them, at leaſt, properly uſed. As, for inſtance [t],

Then *fellen* on the grounde and thus yſpoke.

Let the whole paſſage be given, and the language will appear to be juſt:

Firſte, Roberte Neatherde hys ſore boeſom ſtroke.
Then *fellen* on the grounde and thus yſpoke.

If it be needful for any one, let the preſent order of the words be altered, and let them ſtand thus:— Firſt, Robert Neatherd, then fallen on the ground, ſtroke his ſore boſom, and thus yſpoke. Next,

Bewopen Alfwoulde *fellen* on his knee.

[t] Appendix, p. 323.

Fellen, in this line, is evidently a participle, nor is there any thing amiſs in the paſſage, except a redundant pronoun, a circumſtance very frequent in our language:

Bewopen Alfwoulde, *fellen* on his knee,
His Bryſtowe menne came in, *hym* for to ſave;

i. e. His Briſtow men came in for to ſave bewopen Alfwoulde, fallen on his knee.

Then follows,

For thee I *gotten* or bie wiles or breme.

Now let us ſuppoſe *gotten* to be a verb, and let its plural termination be thrown away; what then? the paſſage will become unintelligible: For thee I got—what did he get? here is no anſwer in the paragraph. Retain the participle, as it was undoubtedly at firſt written, and the whole will become exceeding plain:

For thee, O gould, I dyd the lawe ycraſe;
For thee, ygotten or bie wiles or breme;
Ynn thee, I all mie joie and good dyd place;
Botte now to mee this pleaſaunce ys ne moe.—

Here are at hand a number of examples, taken from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of verbs plural uſed in the ſingular number, and of verbs plural uſed inſtead of participles; but the following ſhall ſuffice, ſince it is not lawful to ſeek for defects; and, beſides, a mother's robe is ſacred.

Prayeng our Lord to graunten him, that he
Mighten ones knowen of that blysfull lyfe
That is bitwixt an huſbande and his wyfe [u].

[u] Merchant's Tale.

"Alſo,

" Alſo, if the day of doom *comen* before theſe " thouſand years of pardon comen out, then theſe " pardons ben falſe,"—" the rightful deling of " God, for the good life of men, is *forgetten* [x]."
" But, ſays the Editor, in his Appendix, *thoughten*, " not quite long enough for the verſe, has had " another ſyllable added at the beginning :

Ne onne abaſh'd *enthoughten* for to flee.

" And what is ſtill more curious, ſays he, we have " a participle of the preſent tenſe, formed from " this fictitious paſt time,"

Enthoughteyng for to ſcape the brondeynge foe.—

Enthoughten was moſt probably written *em thoughten*. Theſe terms may be ridiculed now, even by thoſe who ought to examine before they cenſure; yet, perhaps, they were not of old ſo very uncommon. The following paſſages are taken from different tranſlations of the Magnificate: " He receyved Iſrael his childe *umthought* of his " mercy.—He toke Iſrael hys chylde, *umthoughte* " of hys mercy.—He havyng mynde of his mer- " cy took up Iſrael his child.—He took up Iſ- " rael his child, thenkynge on his mercy [y]." *Umthoughte* is here uſed as a participle, both in the paſt time and in an active ſenſe; nor can we explain it without the aid of *an* active participle in *ing*, or the auxiliary term *having*, which belongs to the paſt tenſe: *umthoughte* of his mercy, i. e. *having thought him of his mercy*.

No one abaſh'd *bethought him* for to flee.

[x] Lewis's Life of Wicliff, p. 138. 132. [y] Lewis's Hiſtory of the Tranſlation of the Bible, p. 33, 34.

Enthoughteyng is not formed from any paſt tenſe; far leſs, from a *fictitious* one; but from the Saxon *ym-theohtian*, or *em-theohtian*, to deliberate, to caſt *about*, to contrive—*emthoghteynge*—or as it is given by Chatterton *enthoghteynge*—i. e.

Contriving forr to ſcape the brondeynge foe,
As nere unto the byllowd beche I came,
Farr offe, I ſpied a ſyghte of myckle woe.—

The inſtances here given are ſufficient to prove, that the language of theſe Poems, even in its ſuppoſed defects, exactly coincides with that of the old Engliſh Writers; ſo that the Editor's Objections, when fully diſcuſſed, will be found forcible evidences againſt his own cauſe.

The Writer of the Appendix next endeavours to prove, from what he calls the ſame internal evidence of the language, that the Poems were entirely written by Chatterton; and, in order to attain this end, he labours to convince his Readers, "that moſt of the exceptionable interpretations "in the Gloſſary, are taken from Skinner; that, "where the words are either not ancient, or not "uſed in their ancient ſenſe, the interpretations are "totally unfounded and fantaſtical; and at the "ſame time, that the words cannot be amended "conſiſtently with any rules of Criticiſm, nor the "interpretations varied, without deſtroying the "ſenſe of the paſſage[z]." The many inſtances, already given, fully prove this Gentleman to be utterly miſtaken, in the foregoing aſſertions. However, he goes on to ſhew that the words themſelves, as well as their interpretations, have taken their riſe, either from the blunders of Skinner, or from

[z] Appendix, p. 325.

Chat-

Chatterton's miſapprehenſions of that Writer. And there is one ſentence, which ſeems to intimate, that the Editor looks upon Skinner as abſolutely coining many of the words, whoſe explanation he has given: "It is, ſays he, againſt all odds, that "two men, living at the diſtance of two hundred "years one from the other, ſhould accidentally agree "in coining the ſame words, and in affixing to "them exactly the ſame meaning." [a] This wants no proof, nor is there any ground for the ſuppoſition: but where is the Editor's candour, if he ſuppoſes that Skinner *really coined* the words in queſtion? and, if he does not, what then is the meaning of the ſentence? However, although this Gentleman's candour, and even his good ſenſe, in the foregoing paſſage, ſhould be thought ſomewhat doubtful; yet his miſtake will appear very obvious by a recital of the terms to which he alludes: *Al-abone*, *Abounde*, *Abredynge*, *Acrool*, *Alyſe*, *Aumere*, *Blake* and *Biſmare*, have been already conſidered, ſhewn to be authentic words, without having recourſe to Skinner, and their meaning ſupported by deciſive facts; the ſenſe of ſeveral of them has been proved to be equally far diſtant from Chatterton's interpretation, and the conjectures of the Editor; while ſome, eſpecially *Aumere* and *Blake*, unhappily ſhew, how little the Writer of the Appendix was really acquainted even with thoſe very parts of Chaucer, which he affects to quote; and the reſt of the terms urged on this occaſion will as clearly diſcover the ſuppoſitions of the Writer to be altogether groundleſs.

Bawſin, *Brond*, *Brondeous*, *Burlie*, *Burled*, and *Byſmare-lie*.

[a] P. 328.

" *Bawſin*, big, groſs, alſo a Badger. Old word." Bailey. *Branden*, urere, ardere — æſturare—deſiderio vel cupiditate[b]. *Brand*, *Brond*, Sax. fax, titio, torris. Item poetice, enſis, gladius—Ita vero dictus eſt à flammea ſpecie & igneo ſplendore. Hinc forſan noſtra, *to brandiſh*. *Bernan*, *Byrnan*, ardere, exardeſcere, *he ſymble barn on geleafan*, ſemper ardebat in fide[c]."—" I can carve with this en-" chaunted *brond* — fatall *brond* — heart-thrilling " *brond*." [d] Spencer. *Brond*, a piece of burning wood; figuratively fury, rage, a touch. Bailey and Cocker. *Burlie* is from *Bur*, a cottage, hence *gebur*, a clown, *burley*, clown-like, broad. " *Burley*, " groſs, fat, big." Minſhew. " *Burley*, Boor-" like, big, heavy, groſs." Bailey. " *Burly-*" *brand*. Old word. Very furious, alſo a great " ſword." Cocker. " *Burley-brand*, a huge ſword, " alſo great fury." Bailey. *Burlie-bronde* is uſed in Goddwin, ver. 7. for a *broad ſword*, and not, as Chatterton interprets it, *anger*, *rage*:

And I betraſſed; ſyke ſhulde mie *burlie-bronde*
Depeynete the wrongs, *on hym* from whom I bore.

In the ſecond Battle of Haſtings, 664, *Burlie-brande* is uſed for great fury. *To Burl*, to dreſs cloths as fullers do—*Burled*, armed. Old word. Bailey and Cocker. *Byſmarelie* does not, in the Letter to Canynge, as Chatterton ſuppoſes, ſignify *curiouſly*, but *improperly*, *unſeemingly*, *unbecomingly*; and in this ſenſe, with the Editor's leave, it was anciently uſed. One ſhort example will be ſufficient: *biſmorlice plegan*, indecore atque inverecunde ludere:

[b] Binnart. Teut. Dic. [c] Lye. [d] Spencer, B. ii. Cant. 8. Stan. 22, 37, 41.

Pardon,

Pardon, yee Graiebarbes, gyff I ſaie, onwiſe
Yee are, to ſtycke ſo cloſe and *byſmarelie*
To hyſtorie; you doe ytte *tooe moche pryze.*—

Calked, Beſtoiker, Hancelled, and *Shap* [e].

The Editor firſt ſuppoſes, that *calked* was formed from a miſapprehenſion of Skinner; and then, that Skinner himſelf was miſtaken in referring to a line of Chaucer for *calked*, which is a mere miſprint in the common editions, for *calculed! Calked* might be uſed for *calculed*, to denote the caſting up figures. But there was *calked* in a different ſenſe; which ſeems to be from the old barbarous Latin term *calcea* [f], a road or highway, made up with ſtones and rubbiſh; hence *calceata* and *calcetum*, a cauſey, or cauſeway. *C* was anciently ſounded juſt the ſame as *k*, and they were either uſed in common, *Cnite* or *Knite*. *Calced*, or *Calked*, *caſt up* as ſtones and gravel into a road; or *caſt out*, into the highway, as rubbiſh, and things of little or no value. Bailey gives, from Chaucer, *calculid* for *calculated*; and he alſo gives us *calked*, an old word for *caſt up*, or *caſt out*. And ſays Raufe, in the firſt Eclogue,

Calked from everych joie, heere wylle I blede.

Chatterton is ſuppoſed, in his hurry, to have read *Beſwike, Beſtoike*, and thus, in a moment, to have formed a new word, before his eyes could perfectly diſtinguiſh the letters of that, to which they were directed. The Teutonic verb *ſtoken* is to excite, to ſtir up, to inſtigate, to tempt; hence *ſtoker*, a tempter, the mover of any thing, an in-

[e] Appendix, p. 327. 329, 330. [f] See Bailey and Littleton on Forenſic Terms.

ſtigator,

ſtigator, or inciter to wickedneſs. *Be* was frequently added to words, as *beſtow*, *beſtir*, *bethink*—*Beſtoker*—In the above ſenſe *Beſtoiker* evidently occurs in Ælla:

Unto mie wyſche bee kinde———
Birtha.
No, foule beſtoykerre, I wylle rende the ayre
Tylle dethe do ſtaie mie dynne.———

Whatever be its origin, Bailey gives the verb *to beſtoike*, as an old word, *to betray:* and from it the ſubſtantive *beſtoiker* is naturally derived; ſo that Chatterton, even in his haſte and negligence, was truly fortunate. From *hand* and *ſeelle*, conciſum, comes the word *hanſeled* or *hanceled*, cut off, or cut into pieces, by the hand. And Chaucer ſays, "The diſordinate ſcantneſs of cloathing, as been "theſe *cutted* ſloppes or *hanſelines*, that through "their ſhortneſs."—And Bailey ſays "*Hanceled*, "an old word, is *cut off*." [g] Chatterton rightly explained *hancelled*, to be cut off, or deſtroyed:

Hancelled from erthe theſe Normanne hyndes ſhall bee.

Shap, as denoting a divine appointment, or conſtitution, over which we have no controul, anſwering to the Latin word *fatum*, is properly derived from the Saxon *Sceapian*—creare—ordinare—notwithſtanding what is ſaid in the Appendix. "Se "us thas lade *ſceop*," qui nobis hanc peregri nationem *ordinavit*. Lye. In this ſenſe the participle is often uſed by Chaucer:

And if our deſteny be ſo *iſhape*
By eterne word——
That eche of you ſhall have his deſtyne,
As him is *ſhape*.——

[g] The Parſon's Tale, under the ſeven deadly Sins.

It

It does not appear, even from the Appendix, that Skinner referred to Chaucer for the *word Shap*, but only for its *explanation*, in which he acted properly. Nor, after all, does the Editor cenſure Skinner's interpretation of *Shap*; nor does he deny that there is ſuch a ſubſtantive. *Shap*, as a divine appointment, is as naturally derived from the verb, as *ſhaper* of heaven and earth, which we have in the Saxon Creed. Bailey has preſerved *Shap*, an old word, for *fate*, *deſtiny*. There does not appear to be any impropriety in the term, as uſed by Rowley.

All thoſe words, except two or three, which the Editor ſuppoſes to be taken from Skinner, and erroneouſly interpreted by Chatterton, may be found in Bailey, with explanations, for the moſt part, authentic: it appears, therefore, truly abſurd to ſend Chatterton for the terms, urged on this occaſion, to a book, in which he was never capable of reading one ſentence; while, to him, much plainer materials were at hand. Skinner, in moſt of thoſe inſtances, for which he is cenſured in the Appendix, was undoubtedly right. Some of Chatterton's blunders the Editor has unhappily annexed to his own; and the reſt he knew not how to correct: ſo that almoſt every thing advanced in the Appendix, from firſt to laſt, may be juſtly conſidered as totally wrong; and not one ſolid reaſon, throughout the whole, can be found, why we ſhould not believe Rowley's Poems to be really written in the fifteenth century.

FINIS.

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